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103
131 7, awa'lwaskăn, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361 8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[220] 10, lobŏ'kstsŏksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-túpakshi, standing rock.[22]

[114] 11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, k!ŏtewă'ĕts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823] 13, komă'ĕksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kemŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

[226] 14, ka'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ka'ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hĭedlĭcluĕ'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

17, bezŭkse'was (from bezŭks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[226]

18, takalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at takalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

[251] [226]

20, djigiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

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21, ɬ'lo'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ɬ'lolt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks.

22, at'awĭkc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net.

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wĭtă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wĭtă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town.

26, goyɛmskĕ'ɛgĭs, crawfish crawl out, or kĭzkĕ'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side.

27, wɛla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wɛla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loɬ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake.

29, teŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ɬokĕnă'okɛ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

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IV. *Pelican bay group* (*gu'mbŏtkni*).—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mbŏt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudŏ'kăn is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwŭnau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dŭnŏ'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, lɛlă'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

[823]
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39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756]

40, wa'lŏ'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'lŏks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbŏtkni roasted camas in the spring.

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43, stŏ'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳak, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

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51, kŏlwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

52, wuk!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'to$_{\gamma}$ks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kĕmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

[764]
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55, iwau'wŏnĕ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the
[823] principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kĕmŭ'kŭmps.[22]

56, iu"lalo$_{\gamma}$ĕ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called k!taigi'$_{\gamma}$kĭs, hole

[114]

[22] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

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through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ŏt, flat, for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏks, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

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60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

[226]

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa"lɪ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Woḳus bay, seolŏpġis.

[823] •

62, sa'stitḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

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619

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

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but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gōga'nx.

Two little men, gōga'nx, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gōga'nx climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gōga'nx had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gōga'nx followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gōga'nx in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gōga'nx; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from *néna, to swing the body from one to the other side,* or from nainâya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin,* lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[137]

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[821]
[823]

Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wîle'ɛkak's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wōkda'lls. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dūnō'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

[137] Gatschet, 1:xeix, 163.

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789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wl'slɨk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'-čksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

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264 Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children.

823 An earthquake (ke'la t!ill'ŋgɛ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero Kɛmū'kŭmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign.

821 An eclipse is called lo̱ḳ slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ḳo, ḳo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ḳo'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities.

[539] Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today.

789 There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south.

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ'lsŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

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Another set of graphs is on the rocks at the southern end of Buck island. A tale concerning one of these figures tells of a man shot in the eye with a straw so that the blood streamed down his face. This suggests the form of the figure, which I did not see. One informant said that the figure of a lizard was also sometimes drawn. 212

Klamath territory abounds in rocks conceived as petrified mythical beings. Where the tales provide no other explanation, it is held that the transformation was effected by Crow laughing at them. Back of the village Du"ĭlkŭt on the southern side of Klamath marsh is a group of small boulders, called nĕ'knŭk, "doctor" stones. Should a little child play among these he will become crazy. A similar group lies north of Dŭnŏ'ksi on Pelican bay. Another series of rocks is some twenty miles above Chiloquin on Sprague river. The westernmost is the house of Kxmŭ'kŭmps; to the north is a sharp mountain, blai'was, the golden eagle; the third is wĭkwĭks, magpie; the fourth, maiti'ktŏk, a person, the fifth k!adji'tcwatcwe'ĕs, a person; sixth, găo'djis, wolf; and the last, djĭ'ktu, mouse hawk. A cave at Komă'ĕksi (13) on Sprague river is another house of Kxmŭ'kŭmps. It is a stĭ'nas, a dome-shaped lodge. As he covered it with second-grade mats (stĕholas) it now leaks. Inside is a pile of rocks said to be his tunic armor. Kxmŭ'kŭmps' net spread out to dry is an outcrop of white rocks on the hillside a few miles north of Klamath Falls. 823 •

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821
• 823 The Klamath notion is that they name their directions from the winds. This seems unusual until we realize that this is the habit of the peoples to the north, e.g., the Wishram by my own information. It is also intelligible from the rôle played by personified winds throughout this area, Shasta to Puget sound. Seven of the eight compass points are named, omitting northeast, from which quarter there is probably no wind.

lepi'tal, east.
ye'watą!, southeast.
mo'atal, south.
ḳopa'stiskăni, southwest.
tska'lamdal, west.
teōki'nksdal, northwest (cf. teōkĭa, service berry region, lying to the southwest of Crater lake).
ya'mōksda, north.

This is the order in which my informant, Nancy Phillips, gave the directions. She did not offer zenith and nadir, and, on direct questioning, held that these were not directions.

The numerals are as follows:

802
1, naa.
2, lap.
3, ɴda'n.
4, wuni'p.
5, tu'nip.
6, nō'tsksōpt.
7, la'pksōpt.
8, da'nksōpt.
9, nōtskă'čka.
10, te'čwūnip.
11, na'sial' ɴ.
12, la'pial' ɴ.
13, ɴda'nial' ɴ.
14, wuni'pial' ɴ.
15, tu'nipial' ɴ.
16, nō'tsksōptial' ɴ.
17, la'pksōtial' ɴ.
18, da'nksōptial' ɴ.
19, nōtskă'čksial' ɴ.
20, la'pūni te'čwūnip.
21, la'pūni te'čwūnip po'čnaa.[410]
26, la'pūni te'čwūnip po'čnōtsksō'pt.
30, ɴdani' te'čwūnip.
40, wūnipni te'čwūnip.
47, wūnipni te'čwūnip po'čn lapksō'pt.
50, tunipni te'čwūnip.

[410] By analogy with twenty-six, forty-seven, etc., this looks as though the word for one should be suffixed, but the form given is consistent with one hundred and one.

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MT	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war dances only	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[72]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	-	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck											+	+	+	+	-	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	+	+		+	-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[424]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	-		+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[434]
1995. Imported	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	-	-	-	+	(+)	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor	-	-	-			+		-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823 ●
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	534
o2139. End stopped	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	R	R	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2143. Stop of wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
2144. Single whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	-	-	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		◦	◦								+	-	+	+	-	◦	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								-	-	+	+	-	+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2152. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	-	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2157. End blown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	-	-	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2160. Nose blown	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2161. Used by shaman	-	◦	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[756]
2162. Used for courting	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
2163. Used for self-amusement	◦	-	+	◦	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
Pictographs, Petroglyphs																	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	◦	◦	-	-	◦	-	◦	◦	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2167. Made by mythological characters	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	-	◦	◦							◦	-	◦	◦	-	◦		[323]
RECREATION																	
Games																	
Shinny																	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	-	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2175. Children play	-	+	-	+	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[859]
2176. Single ball	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2177. Wood	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2179. Oak gall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2180. Double ball	-	+	+	+	-	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	◦	◦	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2184. Cord or hide strip only	-	-	-	-	+	◦	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MT
Directions																
4458. 4 cardinal directions	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
4459. 6 cardinal directions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4461. Waterflow for directions	-	-	-	+/-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4462. Directions indicated by place names	-	-	-	+/-	+	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	-		+	+/-		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	-	-				+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	.	-	-
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	+/-	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	-	+						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	-	+						-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4473. Cautery	+/-	+	+		+/-				+	+/-	+	-	-		-	-
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	+/-	+	-	-		-	-
4475. Blood letting			+/-	+/-	-	-	+	-	-	+/-	-	-	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+/-	-	+	-		-	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													-		+	-
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	-		-						+	+	+/-	+/-	-		-	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+/-
4485. Decoctions for wounds			+/-								+/-	.	+/-		+/-	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	+/-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+		-	-
4488. Informal and formal doctoring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		+	+
4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4494. Dreamt	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													-		+/-	-
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	+/-
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

000 222. By men, women wading, beating water with long poles.

226 223. Kl: At night men sit on top of weir, with circular nets (see element 205); net salmon as they try to jump through openings in weir. MV: Men stand on top of weir, and net or club fish.

..., people frightening salmon downstream, spearing them; arrows point upstream; A, rock and brush dam; B, fir branches intertwined; C, brush piled up; (X), man clubbing fish; (X1) man to string up fish.

000 226. WT, WS: Salmon house (buki) lacking. WM have salmon house. For description see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 123. WS: Set 2 poles, in form of dipod, in river; rest 1 end of log in fork of dipod, other end on river bank; man stands on this log near dipod end and spears salmon; informant remembered 1 man "who could spear 2 salmon at a time; other men couldn't spear any." This type of scaffold referred to as tokamas.

228. Chalk, generally.

226 229. Kl: Stone dams attributed to mythical be-
● 823 ing. Consist of semicircle of rocks, curving out from bank, then in again toward bank, with opening on downstream end. 2 such semicircles, on opposite sides of Williamson River, W of Chiloquin (not in Klamath Marsh area proper). Men stand inside enclosure, netting fish, which other men frighten into nets. See Spier, Klamath, p. 149. Mo, AW, WT: Made by human beings.

Traps.--

227 230. Kl: Weighted with stone at each end. AE: 6-7 ft. long.

231. AW: Narrow end untied, to take out fish. Catch otters and minnows with this trap, also.

233. See note 219.

234. Mo: Willow pack basket used. NS: Seed beater (patai) used.

Angling.--

235. Kl: Hooks made of sucker's tailbone or of bone shank and 2 bone points (see Spier, Klamath, fig. 10, p. 154) denied by informant. SE: Sing while angling, to make fish swallow hook and keep on line. AW: Before fishing, man swallows food without chewing it, in imitation of fish swallowing hook and line. MM: Quincy MM informant (Maria Hedricks) stated bilateral

000 Pleiades, morning star, especially observed. AE: Watch stars, each new moon, to see which star is going to appear; different stars appear during different months.

4440. NS: See element 4430.

4442. WM: For winter months only.

4443. MV: Old woman keeps record in following manner: "She keeps 1 variety of seed after another in finely netted bag, and eats different sort each month. When arguments become heated in assembly house, old men send for this old woman; variety of seeds she has in sack at that time often settles argument.

4445. MV: See note 4443.

4447. WM: 2 solstices determined in following manner: During solstices sun stays for 3 days, oscillating between points A and B, "before it starts north or south. Old man watches this in morning; the sun sits down each morning, first at [A], then at [B], then back to [A], not looking around. But on third morning it looks around and is ready to go N or S, depending on time of year." WS: Winter solstice only observed, because people "want spring to come; don't bother about summer solstice." Solstice explained as follows: Sun rises at point X for 3 days, then moves N to Y for 1 day; then rises again at X for 1 day; then at Y next day. After that it keeps rising farther and farther N each day; "when it starts moving N for good, people quit watching its position."

4448. AW: See note 4451. WS: See note 4447.

4449. AW: See note 4436.

4450. SE: Marks made on center pole of assembly house with chalk. SW: "In the assembly house (uk'kwamma) there are flat rocks, set around base of center post; the shadow from post, as made by rising or midday sun, is observed, and note taken of where it falls on rocks at base of post." AW: Watch where light strikes on center post of living house or sweat house, but no marks on pole.

4451. SW: Wherever there is assembly house, observations made indoors, as noted in 4450 above, "but for ordinary places, people watch where sun rises and sets between certain trees." (Informant now uses mark on board by his door in observing shadow cast by rising sun.) AW: Mainly watch shadow from Soldier Mt. ("it goes to Jim Hunt's place") for solstices.

4452. MV: From top of assembly house.

4454. WS: See note 4447.

4457. WM: Old men watch where sun rises over certain rocks or trees every morning throughout year; also observe where sun sets.

[823] [782] 4458. Kl: Informant gave 4 names (for N, S, E, W), but recognized Spier's 7 names (Spier, Klamath, 222); when food offered, it is thrown in each of 4 directions.

4461. SW: E and W designated as either up and downstream or light and dark (sunrise and sunset), N and S by place or tribal names, such as "over by Jacksonville" (N) and "over by Wintun" (S).

4462. SW: See preceding note. AW: N, ba·tit,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given their natural environment and the influence of surrounding peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

[1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Latuami territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

157 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent
125 is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual
153 ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern
159 with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emo-
158 tional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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114 [1]This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in 223 their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kû'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Kohâshti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látaashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them; also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham kä'k. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: skäk'ish p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Ske'l and of Tchâshkai.

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YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

776 821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by Kák (the Raven, or storm-bird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gû'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KÄÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *Ἔρα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

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823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúẋale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is shown by the form käĺash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. Their myth [821] of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käĺa nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käĺa ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käĺanti nû shĺshila—

* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

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823 539 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 776 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Klamath people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lëmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

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776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

[773 823] Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

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question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

Dwarfs.—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainâya *to shiver, tremble*

Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

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773 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves
825 on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs, more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one
[823] in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh. To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing
[821] himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity. But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific coast, is the *prairie-wolf*, little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like, whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals
[821] left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him, for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máḵlaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

[796] [224]

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchélo$_{\gamma}$ins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máḵlaks hō'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-i$_{\gamma}$aga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-$_{\gamma}$átchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] [222] [251] [796] [222] [192] [415] 74, 5. saká a pō'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pō'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wá$_{\gamma}$oks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wá$_{\gamma}$oksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí ká-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (for) no
3 tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni kú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, kú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (ba) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk kú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
6 nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 192 Ká-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh shna-ulámna taplálash.
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk spit over the loon.

NOTES.

[823] I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

[196] [193] 131, 2. Ká-akamtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

[825] II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

[103] 131, 5. Kíuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

[193] 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

[173] 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls *539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the 773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the 825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Notes* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 825 787 763 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapkaht tchō'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-

tχuk pákluipka. 3
saging he howls.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la páshish hä'masht i-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the ost when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it means;

tchíkí'n tchish hä'masht i-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death them it crows. The dog

tchí'sh wawá-a i-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchämlûk. 6
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 [682] Watság tchí'shtat tχótχa i-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaks, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
prophetically

isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, k̲á-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him

shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk 9
hill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking

ktsí'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna hísuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and

tsä'wik.
is demented

155; 22. Léksh, léksh, distr. lélaksh crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is sung also: lé-é'ksh, lé-é'ksh gená: ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ Cf. 154; 7.

155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 39. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuányi is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'lílantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tílantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gí; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walʏátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wámēnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kíuks is dancing.

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Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ikemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

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178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

787 881 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power 785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, 533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word */šuw'i·s/* meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on 787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from 172 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior 797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, 776 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and 823 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I 774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over 787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I 723 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a 797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

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Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·*; that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

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773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
177 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

[184] But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

[869] A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of